COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"*Then you filled the minds of the colonists with new jealousy and all sorts of apprehensions; then it was that they quarrelled with the old taxes as well as with the new; then it was, and not till then, that they questioned all the parts of your legislative power; and by the battery of such questions have shaken the solid structure of this empire to its deepest foundations.*"——BURKE's Speech in the House of Commons, April 19, 1774.

CORRESPONDENCE
WITH THE
TREASURY,
RELATIVE TO THE DUTIES ON JAMAICA PRODUCE.

It will be seen that the following documents are principally from the pen of COLONEL HENDERSON, who is well known as a Jamaica planter. My former publication respecting the complaints of the Planters and the disputes between the Governor and the Legislative Assembly (see present Volume, p. 1), has induced several persons to communicate to me important matter upon those subjects. That part of these communications which I now lay before the public claim a preference on several accounts; but principally because it fully confirms, in substance, the statement which I thought it my duty to make relating to the intolerable hardship at this time experienced by the importers of rum.

TO THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT, HIS MAJESTY'S CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. &c. &c: *the Memorial of* COL. JOHN HENDERSON, *humbly sheweth:*

That your Memorialist humbly submits for your perusal the copies, or nearly so, of Letters No. 1, 2, 3, and 4, by your Memorialist, and also a copy of Resolutions, &c. by the West-India Committee of Planters and Merchants, as the same were submitted to your predecessor, [*These resolutions will be found in the Register, present volume, p. 17. It is very necessary to refer to them.*] the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c. upon the subject of West-India produce.——That upon a perusal of these papers, your penetrating eye, Sir, cannot pass unnoticed the distressing situation to which the West-India planters are reduced; and, you must forcibly see, that the real interest of this parent state, of which you are again the principal guardian, calls aloud for relief, and an exercise of due justice and tenderness to the planters of her valuable West-India colonies.——That your Memorialist's case individually is hard indeed.——The bond upon his rum, as stated in his letters, being nearly expired, no demand, no chance of sales, but by submitting to the hard fate of being brought considerably in debt for the duty and expenses, are facts which he is ready to prove.——That instead of obtaining even a temporary relief, as might have been expected by Mr. Addington's statement to the West-India Committee, respecting the use of rum by the navy and army, the price is worse and worse.——Your Memorialist, therefore, earnestly prays, that you would be pleased to signify, as to you shall seem meet, that his rum may be purchased at a fair price for the use of the navy and army; or, that the execution of the bond upon it may be suspended till relief can be obtained in some shape or other. And your Memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c. &c. &c.——*Dated 9th June*, 1804.

(No. I.) *To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c. &c. Dated Dec. 9*, 1803; *and signed* JOHN HENDERSON.

SIR,—Though I class myself only amongst the inferior sugar planters of Jamaica, and feel very inadequate in point of abilities to elucidate the following subject respecting West-India produce, yet I feel not less interested in the issue which may result from it, for seeing no other immediate prospect of relief, I think it a duty I owe to myself, to my country, and to his Majesty's minister, to come forward on this particular occasion with a plain statement of facts, which it is imagined are incontrovertible, and notwithstanding, however, ineffectual the application of an individual may ultimately prove, the facts themselves must shew the absolute necessity there is for a very considerable reduction of the duties on rum, or an additional duty on other spirits, and the importance of a full investigation of this subject, which it is hoped may be taken up anew, and, that in a very serious manner by his Majesty's minister.——The charges and deductions on rum, per gallon, to which the planter is subjected, after completing the work of distillation, (exclusive of the capital which he has engaged, and the annual contingencies thereon, which are now enormous) amount

fully to what it will now sell for at the British market.——The British merchant can attest, that with a great many of the planters, the nett proceeds of their sugar and rum, since the late excessive duties have taken place, scarcely pay the amount of annual necessary supplies sent from England, exclusive of what must also be had in Jamaica, consequently many of them are daily sinking their capital, and are now driven to extreme distress, neither able to pay debts, interest, or even obtain a scanty support from their property.——I am impelled to stand forward as an individual, having myself at this time about one hundred puncheons of prime rum bonded at Leith, where the port charges are very moderate and the market in general not inferior to any in this country.——This rum was insured at 20l. sterling per puncheon by my merchants, Messrs. Wm. Sibbald and Co. who considered that sum to be only a reasonable value under the various high contingencies upon the estate, and it now appears, from the merchant's letter, which I have ready to produce, that the rum will not sell for the duty and expense from the distillery, which are nearly as follows, viz.

	£		
Customs and excise per gallon	0	11	1½
Freight	0	1	0
Insurance	0	0	4
Cooperage, land charges, and cellar rent	0	0	1½
Commissions	0	0	2
	0	12	9
Puncheons, for which no allowance is made in Britain, wainage, wharfage, storage, cooperage, &c.	0	1	0
Wastage and interest	0	0	9
	*£0	14	6

I think there is also an island duty.——In addition to these calculations there are casualties, viz. First: That a loss often happens which does not amount to a sum recoverable against the underwriters, on an average of 10 per cent.——Secondly: That rum being adulterated and rendered under proof before it is lodged in the bonded warehouse (which sometimes happens, yet cannot be proved against the offender) the selling price is thereby reduced, whilst the

in a puncheon when it is sent from the estate *full proof.*			
The late duty per gallon	0	11	1½
Add new duty 12½ per cent. on the above	0	1	4½
War freight per gallon	0	1	0
Do. insurance, about	0	0	4
Cooperage, landing charges, and cellar rent, about	0	0	1½
Insurance against fire when bonded, and subject to all charges, about	0	0	0½
Brokerage in London, do.	0	0	0½
Commissions on gross sales 2½ per cent. *subject to the duty*, being paid by the purchaser, about	0	0	2½
Puncheons, for which *no allowance is made in Britain*, wainage, wharfage, storage, cooperage, &c. upon a moderate calculation of average, from the still to the shipment, which the planter must pay in Jamaica	0	1	0
Common wastage from the estate to the landing in Britain, and loss of interest to the planter, who must pay the merchant interest for his common advances, *exclusive of loans*, till he receives the nett proceeds, *if any there be*, at least	0	0	9
Sundry casualties, as mentioned in my letter, No 1, exclusive of these calculations, at least	0	1	6
The duty and charges, &c. per gallon from the still only to the period of sale, when bonded, is at least	£0	16	6

100 puncheons of rum of 100 gallons each, at 10s. 6d. per gallon, to which the planter may be subjected before he obtains a sale for his rum, *after completing the work of distillation*, is 8,250l.——From this sum of 8,250l. for duties and charges, government receives for *duties only* 6,250l.——The charges from the still to the British market is 2,000l.——Credit by late sales at Liverpool, subject to the payment of duty only from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per gallon Jamaica rum,

* Revisal of calculations comprehending duties imposed since the above calculations were made.——In making a fair statement of the present duties, charges, and evident losses on rum, per gallon, after the work of distillation is complete, you must calculate upon a given sum to the planter, as a part of the expected return for his immense capital, and his present very high annual contingencies, say 20l. for every 110 gallons, which is commonly considered as being rather under the average quantity contained

duty and all other charges, except the commission, remain the same. Thirdly: That the rum being bonded, in the hope of obtaining a saving price, there is a further loss of wastage, storage, interest, and the duties which are charged upon the full quantity first lodged in the King's stores, though that quantity is frequently very considerably reduced before it is sold; and if the bond has expired before the sale, or when regauged, it becomes a heavy loss upon the planter. Insurance against fire, &c. during that time ought also to be calculated. Fourthly: When the rum is above hydrometer proof it pays 10s. 4½d. per gallon duty for every gallon of strength over proof, and though under proof from causes before mentioned, yet it pays full duty. Fifthly: British spirits, say "good whiskey, at "strength 10 per cent. under hydrometer "proof, sells now at 6s. per gallon, which "clearly proves that the duty, &c. on Bri-"tish spirits bear no proportion to that on "rum." How the British distillers can afford to sell at this price may be a matter of surprise, but such is the fact, that they do sell for about one-third of what rum can be sold at, upon a fair calculation.——I cannot omit observing also, that the additional duty upon sugars of inferior quality, equal to those of the first quality is severely felt; but as I understand that his Majesty's minister has been pleased to signify that he would take that grievance under consideration, I think it unnecessary to enlarge upon it.——It is also felt as a very great hardship to pay duty on 15lb. of sugar per cask more than can be charged to the purchaser; this arises by the 7lb. of draught which is withdrawn by the late act, and 8lb. for wastage, which has always been the practice to allow the purchaser, and cannot be withdrawn from him, because even with these allowances, the sugar, nine times out of ten, falls short very much indeed of the nett weight on which duties are paid.—— This grievance must have been overlooked, as his Majesty's minister could never have meant that such an injustice should have been introduced into his system of finance; and upon that ground I am clearly of opinion, that the planter's real situation in many respects has either been misrepresented, or not clearly stated to his Majesty's minister, because the ruinous inference to be drawn from these plain facts are too obvious to be erased.——To these grievances allow me to add the losses to which the planter is subjected by frequent decrease of negroes and cattle, from complaints incident to the island, and by various other casualties, the wasteful visitation of hurricanes, &c. &c. Then let it be inquired how the planter can possibly maintain his credit, or carry on the culture of his estate.——If, instead of paying the charges of his estate by nett proceeds on his rum, which is always calculated upon, he is brought in debt by the sales of this article after it arrives in Britain, is it any wonder that the planter should find himself deeply aggrieved? Burdened with excessive duties, which actually precludes him not only from profit, but from the means of keeping up his estate without waste; pressed by his creditors for advances on which many cannot pay the interest, consequently refused new loans, though his interest is actually nearly connected with that of the British merchants, who amongst other things are justly alarmed by the example of independence in a neighbouring island. How hard is his situation? Frightful as this picture of the planter's situation may appear (though I admit of exceptions amongst the very wealthy) it is a faithful one, and unless their grievances meets with some effectual redress, the consequence must appear to the least discerning eye, ruinous to the colonies and highly injurious to the real interests of this country.——There is an ultimate point, beyond which nothing can be carried, and it is absolutely necessary that the planter, after so much patience and long sufferings, should now claim redress from the load under which he at present groans, and that in the most unequivocal manner; justice, sound policy, and the real interest of Great Britain, call aloud for the ear of his Majesty's minister; and if that should be with-held, necessity will compel the planter to seek for some new mode of relief, in which case I think it incumbent upon me to point out a measure which may necessarily ensue; a measure which I earnestly pray that the attention of his Majesty's minister, and lenity of the British merchant, may prevent. Were unanimity to prevail, the planters might determine not

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say 1s. 6d. upon 100 puncheons reduced to 100 gallons each, 750l.——Balance for which the planter remains in debt, 1250l. ——Add the planter's loss of the given sum 20l. per puncheon of 110 gallons, 2,000l. ——Total loss to the planter, 3,250l. It has been observed, that the rum market in London is from 3s. to 3s. 9d. per gallon. Be it so, and that would only reduce the loss in part, *but there is no demand*; and, as the bonds become due, the planter *must* submit to a similar fate with his neighbour at Liverpool.

to ship any produce on their own account, but dispose of it on the spot to the agents of the British merchants whose ships must be employed, and who themselves, aided by the consumers, may and can fight the battle of excessive duties, when it comes within the reach of the Navigation Act, as it is alleged, but erroneously so, the consumer pays all.——By this mode, and putting only a very moderate value on their produce, it would soon find its level; the planters would, in course, as usual, take their supplies of British manufactures in part of payment, apply part in discharge of British and other debts, and receive a part in money, or bills of exchange, for their own support. ——Such a plan might be carried into effect without breaking faith, more than what the planters' unfortunate situation would compel them to, with the mercantile interest of this country, to whom, under the present system, the planters cannot do justice in discharging their debts; and also, without diminishing a strict adherence to the real interests of our country, and our valuable constitution, or that loyalty and attachment which I do, and I trust every other planter does, unfeignedly bear for the best of Sovereigns.

Memorandum.

Mr. Addington was pleased to acknowledge the receipt of this, my first letter, which was afterwards sent to Mr. Vansittart of the Treasury, to whom I was referred, with whom I had some meetings, and remarks were made apparently not unfavourable to the planter, which I communicated to our agent, Edm. P. Lyon, Esq. &c. But as a general application from the planters and merchants to a similar, and I trusted, to a more forcible effect, did not take place, as was expected, I felt myself compelled to persevere individually, and to explain in manner and form, as will appear by the copies of my letters No. 2 and 3.

(No. II.) *To N. Vansittart, Esq. Treasury. Dated March* 1, 1804, *and signed* JOHN HENDERSON.

SIR,—In consequence of what passed when I was favoured by a meeting on the subject of my letter respecting West-India produce, I beg leave to submit a few additional observations for your consideration. ——I admit, that upon the first view the difference between 8s. 6d. per gallon duty on English spirits, and 11s. 1½d. per gallon duty on rum, as you observed, does not appear enormous; but the point in difference by no means rests upon that statement only, as will appear by the following remarks. ——1st. Besides the capital engaged in making rum, [illegible] which must be propor-

tionally extensive, but also much more hazardous than that which is required for distilling British spirits. 2d. When British spirits are once from the still, they are immediately, and upon a trifling expense, at market; whereas rum brought to the British market is, upon a fair and full calculation, attended with an additional expense, and loss, equal to about 4s. per gallon, which makes a difference of about 0s. 6d. per gallon against rum, including duty and charges from the still only; this, I trust, will be a fair matter for consideration when the question of duty shall be fully considered. 3d. Here I do not pledge myself, but if I have been rightly informed, "the profits on British spirits, and the demand, "have, of late years, been so great, that "many have taken up the business very "extensively indeed, perhaps, even to exceed the consumption;" partly from that cause, and partly from the great temptation for smuggling both British and Foreign spirits, together with the force of habit, (as the Spaniards prefer rancid butter in the West-Indies, where we *prefer it sweet,*) the use of rum, owing to the difference of price, by high duty and other unavoidable charges, is almost given up, and inferior spirits preferred. In answer,—I cannot hazard an opinion respecting a fair line to be drawn between the English and Scotch distilleries, however, I am inclined to think, that the landed interest, say the Scotch farmer, with whom I have had more particular opportunities of being acquainted, does not benefit more, if so much, as the English, by reason of the great consumption of grain used, and by the great extent to which British spirits are distilled and used. The middle man and smuggler seem to reap the benefit; *and not the landed interest.*——That the use of malt liquor, upon a full and fair investigation, would be found preferable not only to increase the revenue eventually, but also be found beneficial in every other point of view, I think, can be clearly demonstrated. The distillation of British spirits, I understand, is by no means confined to malted grain; government is defrauded by the vast number of private stills which are daily at work; in short, smuggling is carried on to such an extent, that it will require a very exemplary punishment before it can be checked or abolished.——As to the 15lb. of sugar which I mentioned in my letter, I can only add, that trifling as it may appear, it will always be conceived to be an act of injustice to pay duty on that which we have not to sell, and which, I am fully persuaded, was not originally so intended, and as you, Sir, no doubt

mean that your system of finance should be founded upon justice, I fully hope, that trifling as it may seem, you will not only remove that evil, but also direct that a proper allowance should hereafter be made at weighing, as it is a well known fact, that even the best of sugar, upon laying a moderate time for sale, after the movement and weighing immediately at landing, must suffer a considerable diminution of weight, by draining, before it can be sold.——I am sorry to add, that in course of conversation I have found several of the gentlemen interested in this business, who admit the facts in my statements on this subject, and who allow, that without a redress of these grievances, unavoidable ruin must attend many, yet they seem hopeless as to the effect of even a general application to his Majesty's minister; because, say they, our applications of late upon that subject have had no serious attention paid to them. However, Sir, though a general application would be much more desirable, because it would undoubtedly have more force, yet such reasoning shall not deter me, because I am of opinion that his Majesty's present minister will *listen to facts* and redress *real grievances*, whether the application comes from a body collectively, or from an individual, and I flatter myself with the hope, that my opinion in this instance will soon be verified to the world.——I wrote to the gentleman whom I mentioned, respecting a plan for adopting the *ad valorem* duty, &c. and I have received for answer, that as he will have occasion to wait on you very soon upon other business, he will take the same opportunity of entering upon that business.

(No. III) *To N. Vansittart, Esq. Treasury, Dated April 26, 1804, and signed* JOHN HENDERSON.

SIR,——In consequence of what passed when I was last favoured with an audience, and having been unfortunate in not seeing you on my late calls at the Treasury, I beg leave through you, Sir, again to solicit the attention of his Majesty's minister upon the subject of West India produce.——That the motives by which I have been actuated thus to trouble you individually, may be clearly understood, I beg leave to observe, that my first letter upon that subject, was submitted at a period when there was no prospect of an early meeting of the West India planters and merchants; at a period when there was no agent for the Island of Jamaica to consult with, or to bring the business forward with that force and ability which the magnitude of the grievance required; at a period calculated to give full time for inquiry, touching the facts complained of; before the system of finance for this year could have been decided upon; and at a period when my own particular case loudly called for redress, having then had a quantity of rum on the point of being sold; which, under the pressure of duties, would have brought me in debt, instead of yielding about the sum of 2000*l.* as an adequate return for my capital, and actually for my support. Thus circumstanced I stopped the sale, in hopes that through my representations I should obtain relief; but now, as the bond is nearly expired, and no relief is signified to be granted, the same cause of grievance still exists, and the same reasons operate for my again addressing you.——I have had communications respecting a further remonstrance from the North, upon the subject of rum and British spirits, and the result is, that "I still "find that a great proportion of the inhabi- "tants are supplied so amply and so ex- "ceedingly cheap by spirits from the smug- "gled stills, that the use of rum is almost "suspended, and meant so to be, whilst that "mode of supply in part, and also the sup- "ply from entered distilleries can be ob- "tained upon the present low terms, com- "pared with the unavoidable high price of "rum, in consequence of the high duties "upon it." As to the question of *ad valorem* duties, I understand that the gentleman whom I mentioned has by this time submitted his plan for your consideration; however, I find that he does not seem inclined to have the plan adopted at which you hinted, for selling sugars by public auction, because, as he observes, that the present mode is in fact a public sale. I am aware, I may be told, that if the grievances of which I complain are of magnitude, an application would have been made long ago by a general meeting of the West India planters and merchants. To this I answer, that many meetings for this, and similar causes have been held, particularly one on the 24th of June, 1803, when their resolutions clearly evinced the necessity for adopting the *ad valorem* principle, and also, exhibited the consequences that must ultimately follow from excessive duties on rum; but these representations on this question having slept at the Treasury ever since that period, it appears to be considered by many as a proof that the planters' distress, by whatever mode it may be represented, seems not to attract the attention of his Majesty's minister, and many are of opinion, that further similar applications will not produce relief. However, Sir, as I observed in a former letter, such reasoning must not prevent my statement of the facts;

and, if I am, by the act of his Majesty's minister to be reduced to beggary, or a state of starvation, as I cannot yet suppose it to be an intentional act, I am determined it shall not be owing to want of my giving him previous information with regard to this matter.——As to the reduction of duties, I am aware of the existing idea that these are not times for reducing them, or by any means lessening the revenue. In answer, I freely admit that these are times when the planter, in conformity with other subjects, ought to contribute freely and largely to support the exigencies of government. Yet, Sir, as I formerly hinted, there is an ultimate point beyond which the planter's grievance cannot patiently be endured. It is a stubborn fact, that the planter's *all* is now at stake, and if his Majesty's ministers shall determine against every mode of relief, is it to be wondered at if despair should ensue, and consequences follow thereupon highly injurious to the real interest of this country? If I am rightly informed, there are gentlemen in office who do not hesitate to declare, "that the West India colonies "(say Jamaica) does not fairly contribute "to the general expense of government, "and therefore, is not entitled to an equally "free protection with this country, or to "that effect." The consequence is, that such observations from gentlemen high in power, has an improper influence on the minds of many, who erroneously suppose that the planters are rolling in riches, and cannot be loaded too heavily with taxes and duties. Now, Sir, fairly to meet such declarations involves two great questions, which seem not to be fully understood.—— The first is, whether or not the planters of Jamaica, (the produce of whose industry, whose wealth and riches, whatever they may be, being ultimately lodged in the bosom of this country) are or are not entitled to an equally free and full protection with British-born subjects in this country? I answer, that they are entitled to an equally free and full protection, in terms of what must be deemed the modern *magna charta* of Jamaica.——That his Majesty, King Charles the Second, by his Royal Proclamation for encouraging planters in Jamaica and the West Indies, given at Whitehall the 14th December in the thirteenth year of his reign, did publish and declare, "that all "children of his Majesty's free born sub-"jects of England, to be born in Jamaica, "shall, from their respective births, be re-"puted to be, and shall be free denizens of "England, and shall have the same privi-"leges, to all intents and purposes, as his "Majesty's free-born subjects of England."——The settlers in Jamaica do thereupon apprehend, that the laws of England are their birth right, and that they have just the same legal right to the protection of their freeholds as the people of England have to theirs, and to the framing their internal laws by a governor, council, and assembly, exactly in imitation of the King, Lords, and Commons. That the revenue act, which was passed in the year 1728, having been wisely, voluntarily, and for a valuable consideration ratified by the Crown, doth amount to a fair, honest, and mutual contract between the King and People, in virtue of which, all the privileges, immunities, freeholds, and possessions of the people of Jamaica, and all the incidents of every of the said immunities, freeholds, and possessions, were of new declared, and by his Majesty ratified and expressly confirmed, and for him, his heirs, and successors for ever, and to all intents and purposes made perpetual. ——This being an act for granting a growing revenue to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and for reviving and perpetuating the acts and laws of that island, is, in truth, the modern *magna charta* of Jamaica. It is a charter of confirmation which is not subject to the same or the like exceptions as were taken to the *magna charta* of England, when it was suggested that the old charter could be vacated upon the heads of infancy and duresse. (See Lord Coke's Proem to the second Part of his Institutes.) Whereas the Jamaica charter is grounded on a plenary consent, proceeding from a valuable and growing consideration, and was voluntarily confirmed by his Majesty in the maturity of his judgment, as well as in the ripeness of his years; it was neither extorted by force or obtained by fraud, and therefore, all their liberties, immunities, privileges, and possessions enjoyed under that charter are possessed *justâ causâ precedente*. In short, it is very plain and clear from the laws of our mother country, and the confirmed laws of Jamaica, that all the old and valuable laws in England are truly the birthright of the people of that island; and it hath been adjudged in Westminster Hall, that those brave Britons, who made the conquest of Jamaica, can never be supposed to have forfeited the concessions of the Crown, or the benefit of the laws of their own country, by adding a valuable jewel to the former, and by opening a new fountain of trade and riches to the latter.——The second is, whether or not the planters of Jamaica, under the circumstances of a colony, do or do not, by various ways, contribute a full pro-

portion of their income, towards the general support of government? I answer, that the planters of Jamaica do contribute more than a full proportion of their income to the general expense of the empire. This is a position that will admit of easy proof, for many of the planters, so far from even deriving a scanty support from their estates, are by excessive duties, &c. daily sinking their capital, and this is unfortunately for them too palpable a truth to require demonstration.—If these facts are unknown to the administrative government, as they seem to be, and if my statements can make no impression, or if they can have but little weight, let the question be brought fairly to issue, and then the planters will have an opportunity of producing such evidence in support of their assertions, as will carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. I have also heard that it has been observed, "the planters have "not the means of obtaining relief, but by "the act of his Majesty's ministers, in which "case, be their bed hard or soft, they must "lie thereupon." In answer, I freely admit the fact, yet, I shall be bold to remark, that neither their condition, the general tenor of their conduct, nor the pressure of the times, can justify an exercise of such severity against them. I remember well the American war; I remember when ideas were afloat, and industriously circulated, tending to show that North and South America, and the West India Islands united, would form a government of great strength, possessing great wealth, and would furnish immense resources for trade with all the world; I remember being one of those who contributed to suppress such circulating ideas, and with the honest loyal planters and inhabitants, spurned and rejected them; I remember the period when the inhabitants of South America were ripe for shaking off their yoke, and had our expedition for the Lake Nicaragua at that time been well digested, as government meant to assist them, it would have been carried into effect.——It is with all due loyalty and respect, that I submit these facts for consideration, which I do, for the good of this my native country; for the good of my brother planters in the West Indies, and that of my own interest *united with both*; because, I clearly foresee what must eventually take place, unless relief be obtained in some shape or other.—My case is only similar to that of many other unfortunate but loyal planters, who are anxiously looking up to his Majesty's ministers for speedy relief, at a moment when ruin stares those of them in the face who are attached to their mother country, and to his Majesty's person and government, and which they have on many occasions zealously demonstrated. They have been ever ready to contribute their proportion to the exigencies of government, feeling equally entitled with British-born subjects to every privilege and protection; and they are daily, by their hard earned means, producing a growing and immense revenue to his Majesty's government. ——I earnestly solicit the favour of an answer, whether in favour of, or against relief, that I may the better prepare my family for their reduced situation.

Memorandum by Col. Henderson.

I am informed, since writing the above, that about 300 puncheons of rum were lately sold at Liverpool, subject to the payment of the duty only, at from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per gallon, Jamaica, and 6d. per gallon for Leeward Island rum; so that by my former calculation, which stands uncontroverted, the unfortunate owners in addition to the loss of the whole return expected from rum for their capital, and annual contingencies, they will suffer also a loss of about 2s. 6d. per gallon, to make up the charges from the still only. I did not see the proceedings of the Assembly in Jamaica for 1803, respecting the French prisoners, &c. nor the pointed calculations of Simon Taylor, Esq. till this 1st day of May, 1804; and on the same day, I observed by the proceedings of the House of Commons, that the duty on rum would now be 12s. 6d. per gallon, and on sugar 27s. per cwt. The old argument is erroneously kept up; that the consumer pays all notwithstanding that rum is scarcely used, and the consumption of sugar from the old British Islands in this country, for last year, I am informed, is but little more than half of what it was in 1801.

(No IV.) *Copy of a Letter from Edmund P. Lyon, Esq. Agent for the Island of Jamaica, to Col. Henderson, dated May 29, 1804.*

DEAR SIR,——I received your letter yesterday evening, and now enclose, for your perusal, my copy of the resolutions of the standing committee on the subject of the late additional duties on sugar. When the committee waited on Mr. Addington, he expressed his conviction that the tax would fall on the consumer, and seemed to adhere to that notion, though we adduced reasons to the contrary. He told us that the additional duties would continue to compose part of the taxes which it was necessary to impose, and promised that he would, individually, as a member of Parliament, endeavour, by proper regulations, to encourage the exportation of the surplus of sugar beyond the

home consumption. As to rum, he informed us that government had endeavoured to promote the consumption of it. by directing, in certain instances to which he alluded, that it should be used by the army and the navy. I shall be extremely happy to hear that any thing is likely to be done by which the planter shall be relieved.

(No. V.) *Answer to Memorial, dated Treasury Chambers, June* 23, 1804, *and signed by* W. STURGES BOURNE.

SIR,——Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, your memorial of the 9th inst. praying that your rum may be purchased at a fair price for the use of the navy or army. Or that the execution of the bond upon it may be suspended till relief can be obtained. I am commanded by their lordships to acquaint you, that upon consideration of all the circumstances stated in your application, my lords cannot comply with your request.

(No. VI.) *Memorandum by Col. Henderson.*

Col. Henderson having been informed that applications for relief, upon the subject of duties on West India produce, had also been made from Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, he waited on Mr. Bourne at the Treasury, on the 27th June, 1804, and begged to know if these applications had met with the same fate as his memorial. Answer. "They "did. Your memorial was laid before the "Lords of Council for Trade; and also, "the Lords of the Treasury, who were of "opinion that they had not power for grant-"ing relief." Col. Henderson then asked, if hope might be entertained, that his Majesty's ministers had in contemplation any plan for bringing about relief.—Answer.—"I have not heard of any such plan being "in contemplation." Or words to that effect.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Extract from the Minutes of the Assembly of Jamaica, Dec. 17, 1803, *relative to the French Prisoners brought thither from St. Domingo.*

Message brought by the Governor's Secretary. —— Mr. Speaker, I am commanded by his Honour the Lieutenant Governor to inform the House, that he has communicated with Sir Thomas Duckworth, on the subject of the number of prisoners of war now in this Island; and, as his Honour finds that the Admiral's instructions strictly enjoin him not to hire vessels for the purpose of sending prisoners to Europe, but to avail himself from time to time of the opportunities which may offer, in vessels employed in the service of government, or in his Majesty's ships of war. His Honour is induced to submit to the most serious considerations of the House, the propriety of *their* adopting some means of relieving the Island from its present state of alarm.—His Honour has the satisfaction to add, that the Admiral has expressed his readiness to afford any facility in his power, by employing his Majesty's artificers in caulking and preparing the vessels for sea, and furnishing provisions and water at the expense of his Majesty's government.——The probable expense of shipping for three thousand prisoners of war in cartels to France, is estimated at 50,000 l. sterling; but, should the House be of opinion, that it would be more eligible to send off all the commissioned officers, a measure which his Honour cannot too strongly recommend, as the Admiral's instructions restrict him from permitting them to return to France; the expense of providing accommodations for the officers is estimated at 40,000 l. sterling.

Ordered: That the above report and two messages be referred to the committee of the whole House, to inquire into, and take further into consideration the state of the Island.

Resolution, Dec. 21, 1803.——To send a message to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, acquainting him, that although there is great cause for apprehension and alarm, in having a very large body of prisoners in the Island, yet the House cannot undertake, for any part of the expense of sending prisoners of war off the Island; and, the House beg leave to request that his Honour will use all means that may be in his power for the speedy removal from the Island of all prisoners of war now here.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—The former part of this sheet the reader will find occupied with a correspondence relative to this subject. That the statements in this correspondence are correct few persons can doubt, and, admitting them to be so, no one, it is to be supposed, will deny that the particular case complained of is very hard. Indeed it is evident some redress is become absolutely necessary. The system of taxation has in this respect been carried beyond all endurance: the bow has been strained till it must break if not speedily relaxed. Far other seems, however, to be the opinion of government. Not only do they appear to be resolved to persist in the enormous custom-house impositions, but also to burden the colony with the expenses necessary to its security. If there wanted any proof

of this their intention it would be found in the recent attempt to make the Assembly furnish the means of sending to Europe the French prisoners lately carried into Jamaica from St. Domingo, than which a request more contrary to justice and to reason cannot be conceived.——After the reader has perused the minute of the Assembly, which he will find in a preceding page of this sheet, and which contains the Governor's message and the Assembly's answer, he should be informed, that the number of prisoners was soon after doubled; so that, if the Assembly had consented to the request made to them, the Island would have been put to an expense of at least 100,000l. according to the estimate of the Governor himself; and who is there that does not know how far such estimates always fall short of the final amount. It is probable the expense would have amounted to nearly, if not quite, 200 000l. and this the people of Jamaica were to pay as a sort of fee for the favour of having imminent danger removed from them; danger in the producing of which neither they nor their representatives had had any concern. The prisoners amounted, at last, to about *eight or nine thousand*, at a moment when the British troops in the Island were considerably short of *four thousand*. If the Admiral knew that he could not depart from his orders; if he dared not take upon himself to engage vessels for the purpose of sending home these prisoners, why did he take them from St. Domingo? That, in assisting to re-establish "the hideous black empire," he should imagine he was doing a service acceptable to Mr. Addington and his colleagues must be wonderful to all those who recollect the grounds on which those gentlemen justified the permission they gave the Consul to send out his fleet and army; but, at any rate, if the Admiral thought it right to co-operate with Dessalines and his comrades, there could be no reason why the people of Jamaica should pay for it; there could be no reason why they should be called upon exclusively to defray the expence of an expedition undertaken for the general interest of the empire. The unreasonableness of such a demand upon them was evident; but it was thought, perhaps, as in the case of the black slave regiments in 1793, that terror would supply the place of reason and of justice. Had the coffers of the Assembly been full, it is probable they would have given way; but, if they had been willing, they were, as they assert, unable.——Whether ships have been sent out to bring the prisoners to Europe, or not, is not certain. The public have, however, been recently informed of a conspiracy having been detected, from which it appeared, that a rising of the prisoners was to have taken place, and that they were to have been aided by other French and some Spaniards who were to come over from Cuba. This intelligence may have been premature, but it is by no means improbable; and, if any unfortunate stroke should fall upon Jamaica from the cause here spoken of, the nation will find but a poor compensation in any punishment that can be inflicted upon those, to whose folly or wickedness the calamity must be attributed.*

CORN LAWS.—Another of these laws is now passing, or has just passed. It were sincerely and devoutly to be wished, that conjugal love always burnt with as steady a flame as the love of law-giving! About three or four years ago law upon law came forth to prevent the exportation and to lower the price of bread corn; and now we have begun to make laws to encourage what we then prohibited. If no law had ever been passed upon the subject, and if courts of justice had never meddled with the matter, the scarcity would not have been nearly so severely felt as it was; and the plenty would not now have been swelled to a superabundance, not so alarming, indeed, to the country, as the scarcity was, but injurious to it, and, eventually may be productive of very bad consequences. The restriction as to exportation is taken off, too, at a wrong time. There is no telling, as yet, what will be the produce of the next harvest. We have had four dry summers successively; five successively have not been known in this country, within the memory of the oldest man living; and if we should now have a harvest like that of 1799, the quartern loaf may yet sell for a shilling before Christmas. If that should happen to be the case, will it not be said with truth, that Mr. Addington is the luckiest of mortals! Just as the reins of power were put into his feeble hands, plenty began to return: the next harvest favoured by the seasons as well as by the extraordinary exertions in agriculture occasioned by the high prices, was the most abundant ever known in England. The

* It may be necessary to refer here to the several parts of the Register, where the documents and observations relating to the disputes between the Government and the Assembly of Jamaica are to be found; to wit; Vol. II. p. 254, 265, 313, and 328. Vol. V. p. 397, 403, 771, and 796. Vol. VI. p. 1 and 65.

produce of this harvest began to come to market, just as his measure of peace was concluded. *He* it was, therefore, that gave the country "peace and plenty;" and thus this most dangerous fallacy got possession of the minds of the people. Plenty seems now to have increased till it ought to go no farther; till, in fact, it is, in the opinion of the legislature become an evil; and, in order to lessen it, we are to pay, out of the taxes raised upon us, a bounty for sending corn out of the country. This seems, therefore, to be a proper time to look back upon the progress of this plenty, and to see how it has been affected by the opposite states of *peace* and *war*, as exhibited in the price of the quartern loaf.

1802.	1st January....	1s. 0½d.	
	February ..	1 0	
	March	10½	
	April	11½	
	May	9½	
	June.....	10	
	July	10	
	August.....	10½	PEACE.
	September	10	
	October	10	
	November	10	
	December	9½	
1803.	January	9½	
	February	9½	
	March	9	
	April	9½	
	May	9	
	June.....	9½	
	July	9½	
	August.....	9½	
	September	10	
	October	10	
	November	10	
	December	9½	WAR.
1804.	January	9½	
	February	9	
	March	8½	
	April	8½	
	May	8½	
	June.....	8¼	
	July	8¾	

How silly, then, how stupid, was the cry of "*peace* and a *large loaf!*" And how scanty must have been the sense, or how abundant the baseness, of those persons, who, calling themselves gentlemen, encouraged that cry! It was indeed the lowest of all political tricks: the most shameful means of sheltering themselves from public indignation: an appeal to prejudice, to ignorance, to selfishness, to laziness, and to gluttony, wherever they were to be found.

FOSTER ON PAPER CURRENCY.——The subject of Irish paper currency was treated of in the preceding sheet, p. 46, where some quotations were made from an excellent work of Mr. Parnell. The same subject has been ably discussed in a still more recent publication entitled "An Essay on Com-"mercial Exchanges, &c. &c." by Mr. J. L Foster a nephew, it appears, of the present Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer. This, as far as I am able to judge, is, as to the far greater part of it, a very valuable addition to the works relating to the science of which it treats. Like the work of Mr. Parnell, it discovers great profundity of thought as well as a very extensive acquaintance with facts. If Ireland be doomed to ruin from financial errors, it will not be for want of knowledge amongst Irishmen.——From the title of Mr. Foster's work it will naturally be concluded, that it does not confine itself to the circumstances relating to the exchange between Great Britain and Ireland; but, the only part of it that I think it necessary particularly to notice upon this occasion is that which comes to the support of what has, at different times, been advanced upon that subject in the Register, earnestly recommending the whole work to the perusal of the reader.——In noticing the facts stated by Mr. Parnell (see Register, p. 50) relative to the exchange between Dublin and Belfast, between London and Belfast, and between London and Dublin, I should have applied them to establish the fact of *a real depreciation of the English bank paper* as well as the Irish. This Mr. Foster has done. Having previously proved that the real exchange, that is to say the exchange independent of all considerations as to the present value of paper in either country, is in favour of Ireland, he proceeds, in a subsequent part of his book, as follows. "It is evident that if the Bank of England "notes have suffered no depreciation, and "that the real exchange between England "and Ireland is at par, the premium paid "for guineas in Dublin must equal the un-"favourableness of the nominal exchange. "But if the Bank of England notes are de-"preciated and the real exchange is at par, "the premium paid for guineas in Dublin "must equal the unfavourableness of the "nominal exchange *plus* the depreciation "of English paper; for it must be recollect-"ed that the exchange of England against "Dublin is not of Irish paper against gold, "but against English *paper*." He then inserts a table showing the amount of premiums paid for gold in Dublin, from January, 1803 to March last; as also the rate of the nominal exchange (that is of English against Irish bank notes) during the same period; and, in a third column, he shows

the exchange between English bank notes and Irish gold. "From this table," says he, "it will appear, that the depreciation of "English bank notes first produced a sensible effect about the month of September "last; for, adding the premium on gold to "the real exchange and subtracting the nominal exchange $8 + 1 - 6\frac{1}{6} = 2\frac{5}{6}$, the "depreciation of English paper. If such a "result had appeared only in that month, "we might seek for some other cause of the "sudden fluctuation; but it has, on the "contrary, continued permanent since that "time: a permanent effect must be referred "to a permanent cause." The progress of the depreciation of English paper is stated to be as follows. 1803, Sep. $2\frac{5}{6}$, Oct. $2\frac{1}{3}$, Nov. $2\frac{7}{12}$, Dec. $2\frac{1}{12}$; 1804, Jan. $2\frac{5}{6}$, Feb. $2\frac{5}{4}$, March $3\frac{1}{3}$. It is remarkable that the result of this calculation agrees with the fact mentioned by Mr. Burrowes before the select committee on Irish exchange, *that* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *is now paid in London to procure gold in exchange for Bank of England notes.* It agrees also with the excess of the market price above the mint price of gold, which gives a depreciation of somewhat less than three per centum. "Thus also," continues Mr. Foster, "it will be easy to account for the exchange "of London having been of late so much in "favour of Belfast, sometimes even 3 per "centum; for this was an exchange of gold "against bank of England paper; and the "reader will observe, that in October, 1803 "(that is the month after the depreciation "of English paper first appears to have "been sensibly felt), the exchange became "suddenly $2\frac{1}{3}$ per centum in favour of Belfast; and it is remarkable, that it has "since continued in favour of Belfast, "nearly to the same amount that the English paper appears to have been depreciated."——Leaving this statement to produce the conviction which can scarcely fail to follow a perusal of it, I beg leave to remind those who have long been my readers, of the censure and abuse that have been heaped upon me by the hirelings of government, for having insisted, that the work of depreciation had begun upon English bank paper. This assertion is now openly and unequivocally made by Mr. Foster. It has recently been half made by others; but this gentleman makes it in so many words; and I shall be much deceived if any Treasury pen will be drawn forth for the purpose of contradicting him.——The fact of depreciation being asserted by Mr. Foster, let people now apply to him to know, "how the paper can "*possibly be depreciated* while a one pound "note and a shilling will buy as much bread "as a guinea, and will indeed exchange for "a guinea." This mystery I endeavoured to explain in the Register Vol. V. p. 572: perhaps he will be more successful. The truth is, however, that they are, upon this subject, to be instructed only by their *feelings*. They must suffer as the people in Ireland have, and yet do, before they will learn to despise the jugglers by whose tricks they are now deceived and amused: clowns never form a just opinion of the mountebank till they are half killed by the poisonous operation of his drugs. Thus I should say, that the nation is not yet sick enough: it must be much sicker before it will be well. Precisely how much longer it will require to bring our paper to the same state as that of Ireland is in it would be difficult to say. Much will depend upon the events of the war. But, it would be foolish not to recollect, that the premium paid for gold in Dublin has, since January, 1803, risen from 3 to 10 per centum. It is not much more than a year and a half since the work of open depreciation began in Ireland. It started with a premium of 3 per centum for gold; and, let it be remembered, that it is a fact proved before a committee of the House of Commons, that a premium of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum is *already given for gold in England!* It would be very silly not to keep these things in our minds, though I by no means imagine that English depreciation will make such rapid advances as that of Ireland has made; unless an invasion should take place, or be seriously regarded as being very near at hand. In that case indeed the fall of the paper may be very sudden, and great wisdom as well as energy will be required to provide against the evils that may arise from that fall. A bold project "for paying off the whole of "the national debt," or for any other purpose of a dashing nature, would have nearly a similar effect upon the paper. The state of things is so ticklish, the fabrick is so very frail, that it would be madness to calculate upon its resisting a serious shock of any kind. All but fools and gambling speculators will, therefore, be somewhat upon their guard: they will, as fast as they can, convert their property into things of a more solid nature; and, as to those who take no such precaution, it is very little matter whether they have any property or not.——Before I dismiss this topic I cannot but indulge my vanity so far as to notice the flattering distinction which Mr. Foster has made between me and others, who have written upon the subject of paper currency, and whose opinions and words he has occasionally cited or referred to. Mr. Thornton, Lord King, and

several others, not omitting even the Edinburgh Reviewers, he has carefully named at the bottom of the page; but from me he takes whole passages, and indeed the very foundation of his doctrine of depreciation,

Register, Vol. V. p. 758.

"It is not [said a correspondent] as a dollar that it now appears at 5s. but as a "*token* which the bank has engaged to repay at that price, or in other words as a "promissory note of the bank." Well, if this be the case, the bank might have affixed any nominal value to the dollar; and, indeed, this C. B. asserts. "By using the "same means," says he, "the bank could "if it pleased, have established a nominal "price of six, seven, or *fifteen shillings*, or "any price whatever." Aye? Why then it is the stamp and not the metal that gives the value to the bank dollar? But, if this were the case, why put the stamp upon dollars? *Why not choose a cheaper metal?* Tin would have borne a stamp full as well, and would have been much lighter. Does C. B. in good earnest believe, that the bankers could, by means of a stamp, induce us to take a four and sixpenny dollar at 15s. or at any price whatever?

without seeming to know that the same thoughts have ever before entered into the mind of man. Let us take a small specimen.

Mr. Foster, p. 84.

The Spanish dollars issued by the bank, at 5s., contain no more pure silver than 4s. 6d. English ought to contain; they are therefore called, not five shillings, but *tokens* for five shillings. It has been contended, that this is no proof of the depreciation of bank paper, for that they are only promissory notes, and that the bank might have called them *fifteen shillings* as well as five; but a promissory note should either have intrinsic value itself, or else be merely the representative of it: if it is issued as the value itself, it can be no more valuable than the silver it contains; if issued merely as the representative of value, *why go to the expense of having it of such precious materials?* If it is to be considered merely as a bank note, why not make it of paper?

Whoever has read the Register here quoted need not be reminded, that the high nominal value of the dollar was there stated to be a proof of the depreciation of the bank paper. Indeed the readers of the Register must well recollect, that this point was insisted on so long as six months ago. I might point out several other parts of Mr. Foster's work, where he has conferred on me the honour of a similar distinction. He thinks it necessary not only to name other writers but their works also, and in some instances to characterise them; but from me he takes as it were with a consciousness that all the world is acquainted with the source, just as men quote from the Scripture. Had I time I would take this opportunity of acknowledging similar favours from several writers, amongst whom I should certainly not forget Lord Sheffield.

THE WAR.——Within these few days it has been rumoured, that the King of Sweden refuses to acknowledge Buonaparté as Emperor of the French. If this be true, the inference that Russia is resolved on war with France appears natural enough. But still without Austria, without British money and a British army, there will be no efficient combination against France; and whether Mr. Pitt will be able to send either guineas or soldiers is a question upon which there can be very little difference of opinion.—— We are, in some of the London newspapers, told of the spirited remonstrances of the Emperor of Russia relative to the affair of the Duke d'Enghien. The conduct of his Imperial Majesty in this respect is compared with that of "the cowardly states of Ger-"many." But, the persons who draw this comparison, seem to forget the vast difference in the circumstances of the parties respectively; the difference in the rank, and the power, of the Emperor of Russia and the Prince of Baden, and, what is by no means of small importance, the difference in the *distance* at which those two Sovereigns are placed from the empire of France and from the armies of Buonaparté. The answer, which it is confidently said the French government gave to the remonstrance of Russia, it would not, with all our liberty of the press, be very safe to put in print, however guarded with qualifications and comments; but, if such an answer was given, there can exist in the mind of Buonaparté and his counsellors not the least fear of the anger and resentment of Russia, or of the powers that she is able to bring to her assistance. In truth, after the affair of the "indemnities," as they were called; after the parcelling out of Germany; taking from one Sovereign Prince his territories to give to another;

after a perfect co-operation of Russia and France in almost deposing some Sovereigns and elevating others by the mere effect of their will and power, and without any consultation for that purpose with the Emperor of Germany, the lawful head of that very empire the members of which they were cutting up and distributing at their pleasure; after this, one might be allowed to express some astonishment at hearing either of the distributing parties complain of a breach of the laws of neutrality, and of an invasion of the rights of independent principalities. ——The hope of exhausting the pecuniary resources of France is still a topic with some of the ministerial writers; and it would not be very surprising if we were, at the next meeting of Parliament to hear the same hope expressed within the walls of St. Stephen's. Incredible as it may appear to men of sense, such a hope is really entertained. But on what it is now built it would be utterly impossible to conceive. Some time ago we heard of enormous taxes being levied upon the people; but why such taxes should be levied no one can tell; for as to the war, it can occasion but very little, if any, extraordinary expense to France: not nearly so much as she draws, in consequence of it, directly from Spain, Portugal, and Hanover; of which latter country she is absolutely selling the fee-simple as fast as she can find purchasers; and, what is worthy of remark, the people remaining in the Electorate seem, if we are to believe the reports from the Continent, not much displeased at the change. A revolution, a change of property and of power, is operating in that country without making the least noise in the world. Never did a Sovereign lose his dominions in so short a space of time; never was any loss so complete; and, if one were to judge from the favour retained by those to whom the loss was attributable, never were dominions lost with so little regret. To talk of exhausting the pecuniary resources of France by war, and especially such a war as we are now carrying on, and while we have not, and cannot have, an army capable of being sent abroad, is perfect madness. The boats for the flotilla must cost something, but not half so much as our small craft, to say nothing of our navy and army, our no-army and all our other most monstrous expenses, which, if they continue for a very few years must augment the annual interest of the debt to a sum greater in amount than the annual revenue. What the dailyincreasing effect of this must be upon our paper system Buonaparté's counsellors well know, and they will not, therefore, be disposed to relieve us from all the chances which such a state of things gives them against us. When Mr. Addington, in his budget speech at the commencement of the war, told the House of Commons that the sacrifices which he called upon the nation to make, were intended to convince the nations of Europe of the solidity of our pecuniary means, the Moniteur copied his speech and sent it over the world with only this short comment: "Pay your bank notes in specie, "and then the nations of Europe will believe "you, without your making either speeches "or war." The man who wrote that comment knew our situation; and, indeed, it is ridiculous to suppose, that the government of France, with so much talent at its command, should not have been able to foresee wherein our chief danger would consist. ——The means which our ministers, the last as well as the present, have resorted to in order to deceive the world are almost too low and ridiculous to be described. Two foreigners, Sir Francis D'Ivernois, Knight, and another, seem to have been doing little or nothing else for several years last past. With the weight of Sir Francis's arguments the trunk-makers' porters are pretty well acquainted, and for the ruinous tendency of them more than one bookseller can be brought to vouch. The other writer to whom I allude has prudently kept his name from the title-page of his work, which he calls "Observations sur le compte rendu de "l'administration des finances de la France, "pour l'an X. 1801, 1802," and wherein, though there can be little doubt of the work having been paid for out of the Treasury, I will take upon me to say, there is more nonsense than in any other work extant of the same bulk. The apparent object of it is, to show, that, in case of a new war, Buonaparté will be compelled to yield to his adversary, unless he can make *loans*, things which the author seems to regard as absolutely necessary to the existence of a nation in time of war. Having settled this point, it only remains for him to make it appear, which I dare say he does to the perfect satisfaction and great comfort of his employers, that it is impossible for Buonaparté or any of his successors ever to make loans again! Thus, then, there is nothing necessary but to go to war with Buonaparté to overset him and his government. This work appears to have been written early in 1803. Buonaparté has not made any loans it is true, but it is because he has stood in no need of any: if he had, he would have made loans as well as his neighbours; for where is the credit so desperate that speculators will not try it? I do not say that his loans would have been made

on very good terms; but, what need he have cared, so that he got the money? If, however, we take the funds as a criterion, the credit of France is not at a very low ebb Before this war began the French three per cents (as may be seen in Vol 5. p. 1020) were at 53, and since the war began they have risen to 57. Neither wars nor rumours of wars shake them. I know not their positive value; but, I know that their relative value has arisen four per centum while the relative value of the English funds has fallen about sixteen per centum, a difference of twenty per centum. But, Buonaparté wants to make no loans: his revenue is equal to his expenditure; and, as I said before, the present war will augment that expenditure but in a very trifling degree. I am the more anxious in wishing the public to be guarded against this error, as I am fully persuaded it is one of the most fatal errors they can possibly imbibe. Any hopes of relief from the internal disorders of France, whether of a financial or political nature, are now no more: the meddling, bungling ministry of Mr. Addington, sanctioned and sheltered by Mr. Pitt, have, at last, placed Buonaparté in a situation that nothing but beating him in open war will ever shake his power. When and how, then, are we to have peace, and upon what terms? Mr. Pitt is pledged not only to "repress the ambi-"tion" but to "chastise the insolence" of Buonaparté. That neither of these objects have been accomplished as yet, is certain; nor does it appear very likely that they ever will by an army of 400,000 men, who have "volunteered" to stay at home. Lord Melville said, that he rejoiced at the rupture of the peace, because it enabled us to retain Malta. "Malta, and Malta alone, I would "make war for, if there were no other ob-"ject, no other provocation." Whether his Lordship is still of the same opinion one can scarcely guess; but, if he be, Buonaparté's hirelings (for he has his hired writers too) tell us, through the pages of the Moniteur, that "peace must then be conquered in the "fields of Great Britain and Ireland." I suspect, however, that both his Lordship and Mr. Pitt would relax a little, if required. Aye marry would they! If Buonaparté were to insist upon their performing a pilgrimage to Malmaison to kiss his jack-boots, I do not say, nor do I think that they would comply; but it would hurt my feelings very much to be compelled to say how far I think they would descend, at the end of another year, in order to obtain peace. That is to say, if the present financial and military systems continue to be pursued. Had the minister the ability and the resolution to make a proper change in these, there would be no necessity for his crouching at the feet of the enemy. But, to make this change is, I fear, quite impossible for Mr. Pitt, who stands so committed to his systems, whose reputation is so indissolubly attached to them, that to attempt their destruction would be an act of suicide of that sort which men shrink from with the greatest abhorrence. It is, however, very hard that the nation should sink in order to save the reputation of one man, let that man be who he may.——And, supposing that peace were obtained upon terms such as might be the result of a pilgrimage to the jack-boots; what would be the consequence? We could not disarm. Our peace establishment must be nearly what it is now; all we are now doing is to watch the French armies upon their coast, which armies would certainly remain pretty near the spot where they are. The French spies and stock-jobbers would again set to work: the funds would rise and fall just as it suited the French Treasury: we should pass another year of feverish repose, when we should be again compelled to declare war; for such would be our state, that we must arm again, or at once yield our necks to the yoke; whereas the enemy need only stand and look at us; and thus would throw the blame of the war upon us —— In short, if the present systems are persevered in, it is hard to say what sort of death we shall die: that appears to be entirely a matter of choice with the enemy, who seems at this moment to be looking at us and considering at the same time, whether he shall knock our brains out at once, or whether he shall hunt us, or teaze us, or starve us to death. Buonaparté and his counsellors must see the present state of our paper money, and, when they consider the inevitable effect of war and loans and taxes upon that money, they must know that a continuation of the war for a very few years will produce the total discredit of the paper. That this is their opinion, indeed, we know, because we see it proclaimed through their official journal; and besides, it is perfect nonsense to suppose, that they are not well-informed upon subjects that are here discussed in books and pamphlets and parliamentary speeches and reports of committees. Having made up their mind as to the certain effect of war upon the bank paper, they will next consider what effect the total discredit of the paper will produce in the country, on the people and on the government; and, upon the way in which they shall determine this question it will depend (if our present systems continue) whether they will grant us peace or not, even upon terms to us the most disgraceful that

can be conceived. To baffle all their calculations and to blast their hopes, then, upon this score, should be a principal object with our minister; but, here again we meet the ever recurring obstacle: scarcely any measure can be attempted for this purpose without a clearly implied condemnation of the systems of the minister himself. It is, however a lamentable consideration, that the country *may* perish, because, to save it, the minister *must* confess his errors! In spite of this truth the minister will, till the very hour of ruin approaches, meet with support quite sufficient to divide, distract, and enfeeble the nation. Many men, and very good men too, will remain attached to him for no other reason than because they have long been attached to him: many will cling to him from interested motives: some from fear, and some from friendship: the very wreck of a twenty year's administration is formidable. It must finally sink, but it may chance to drag the monarchy down along with it. This is the evil to be dreaded, and, if possible to be prevented.

PERMANENT-DUTY MEN.—It was my intention to attempt, in the present sheet, to make a review of all our military measures since the peace of Amiens was concluded; but finding my matter swell beyond my room, I thought it best to defer the subject to my next. Upon the effect of one of the measures relative to the volunteers I cannot, however, forbear to say a few words in this place. Since the passing of what is called the Volunteer Consolidation Bill, the Volunteers, that is to say the men who have volunteered *to stay at home*, have been sent (in cases where they would *consent* to be sent) upon what is ludicrously termed *permanent-duty*: that is to say, to march ten or a dozen miles from home, there to remain, billeted for three weeks, including the marching and countermarching days, and to receive for this "permanent service" a guinea *bounty* besides a shilling a day in the shape of pay; that is two shillings a day, while soldiers of the regular army receive a shilling a day. — —Amongst the evils that might be expected from this project, was mentioned, at the time, the terrible example which would be given to the regular army by these men in soldiers' clothes and not under martial law and receiving double pay into the bargain. Their disorderly behaviour, their drunken quarrels, their disbanding themselves in certain instances, were anticipated, and, in every part of the country, the expectations of those who thought thus have been realised. In the northern parts of the kingdom where wages are low, men have gone upon this "permanent duty" for the sake of the money; but in England, particularly in the southern part of it, those who have thus "volunteered," those who have made this second effort of patriotism, have been, generally, men who either went for the sake of a frolick, or who, being idle fellows, regarded the pay, bounty and free lodgings as means of getting a solid drunk without any risk of their lives or their liberty. The consequences have been such as might have been foreseen by the minister, and as were foreseen by those who opposed his project: idleness, drunkenness, and quarrelling have followed the footsteps of these permanent-duty men wherever they have gone. I would produce proof upon proof of what is here stated, but shall, at present confine myself to the quarrels of a corps who have *printed* their proceedings. —"Camberwell Volunteers. Head Quarters, the 30th of June, 1804. At a court "of inquiry, duly constituted and convened "for investigating the conduct of several "members of the fifth company of this "corps, Lieutenant Colonel Smith in the "chair:—RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, That "it appears from the report made to this "Court, and confirmed by the admission of "commissioned officers of the fifth company, that the conduct of certain members of that company, has been *of the most "disorderly and mutinous nature*, and destructive of all military discipline; thereby subjecting such members to the pains "and penalties of the articles of war, as "provided by the Act of the 44th Geo. III. "c. 54. s. 23.——RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, That it appears to this Court, by the "examination of *the officers* of the fifth "company, and other evidence, that a "meeting of several members of the said "company was held, *with their concurrence*, "and in their presence, at the Rosemary "Branch Public House, on Thursday evening the 28th instant, at which meeting "*a written agreement was entered into*, and "signed by the majority of the members of "the said company then present; destructive of all military subordination; and, as "it also appears that the said agreement has "been suppressed, by which means the "names of the delinquents are withheld "from this court, and sundry arms and accoutrements have been left, at Serjeant "Howard's house, in the most disorderly "manner, RESOLVED, THEREFORE UNANIMOUSLY, that it be recommended to "the commanding officer *to dismiss such of "the said company, as may have delivered "up their arms and accoutrements, as aforesaid*: and to permit the remainder of the "non commissioned officers and privates,

" who shall have manifested an orderly con-
" duct, and proper sense of the *glorious cause*
" in which they are engaged, to join the
" other companies of the battalion, provi-
" ded it be done forthwith.

" RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, that these
" resolutions be read to the officers of the
" fifth company immediately, and a copy
" delivered to every member of the corps.—
" By order of the court: signed, George
" Owen, Secretary."——This is the sort of troops on which we are desired to depend for the safety of the country! Nay, only a few days ago Mr. Pitt expressed his conviction, that our situation was become *much more secure* in consequence of the " perma-
" nent duty" which had been performed, and which was then performing by the volunteers, of whom there were no less than 180,000, who had been, or were still, out upon such duty! It is really alarming to hear such sentiments from the man who holds all the means of the nation in his hands! It is an unhappy thing for this country that Mr. has never married. He would then, probably, have had something besides projects whereon to fix his affections, and the poor nation would not have been teazed and tormented to death in order to furnish objects of magnitude enough to satisfy his capacious soul. With him a project of the day seems to be a necessary of life. He will father another man's project rather than be without one, especially if it be *quite new*, and of a nature to afford ample room for *explanation*; unbounded latitude for talking about it. How many, many millions has this nation paid; how much disgrace and ignominy has she suffered, and does she yet suffer, from this cause! Of her six hundred millions of debt, three hundred may be fairly ascribed to Mr. Pitt's love of showy projects, and this can be proved as clearly as that two and two make four. But, of all his projects the *military* ones are by far the most dangerous. His financial schemes contain a remedy within themselves: his fictitious money may return to its pristine rags, leaving us still under the guardianship of our own benignant monarchy, a free and happy people; but, what may be the ultimate effect of his volunteer and small-bounty and permanent duty and parochial-recruiting projects no man living can even guess. That they cannot come to good is certain; and all that can be matter of doubt, is, the kind and the quantity of the evil.

The appointment of Lord Levison Gower as ambassador to the court of Russia, is a step of some consequence, and one indeed which, without any inquiry into the talents of the person appointed, has more apparent *sense and reason* in it than the last appointment had. It was said at the time, that because Buonaparte's ambassadors were all generals, Mr. Addington resolved to match him with admirals. Nor does there appear to have been any better reason than this for sending Sir J. B. Warren on an embassy. To the appointment of Lord L. Gower there can be no objection on the score of rank. It were to be wished that men famous for talents, men whose public reputation should have run before them; it certainly were to be wished that such men should fill the leading posts in our diplomatic corps; but, if we are not to have talents of this description, we ought at least to have rank; for, without either rank or talent, what can we expect from a minister at any foreign court. The Russians will not ask *who* and *what* the new English minister is. Such questions are very aukward; especially when they become so minute as to touch upon a man's former profession, or trade.—The *Protest*, which has been published in the name of Louis XVIII, and which seems to have made its first appearance in the Moniteur, is now said to have been fabricated at Paris. Time will settle this point; but it is difficult to see what advantage the new emperor could promise himself from such a device.—It appears that Napoleon insists upon the Pope's coming to France in order to perform the ceremony of coronation. His Holiness has endeavoured to turn the cup aside, but there is good reason to believe that he must swallow it, in spite of his appeal to the Emperor of Germany, who most assuredly will have nothing to do with the matter.—— Moreau has set out in consequence of his sentence of banishment. He goes to Spain, it seems, and thence to America, but it is very improbable that he should go to the United States. If the French did not evidently despise colonies, and if they were not certain, that by holding Canada, as we now hold it, we are doing ourselves infinite mischief, one would be tempted to suspect that Moreau is gone as an ambassador and a general, rather than as a banished man——It was proposed to Georges, some time before his execution, to implore the pardon of the emperor, with an assurance that there was great probability of his prayer being heard. He rejected the proposal; and died as he had lived, a brave and loyal man.

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